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IDEOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

Following the official announcement of the convocation of the 19th Party Congress on 5 October, much of the radio and press propaganda for the Communist Party organizations and rank-and-file members has been geared to the idea of ideological preparedness and last-minute housecleaning before the Congress convenes. Party sessions ranging from Republican Central Committees down to the rayon level are held throughout the country to air and eliminate the lingering familiar ideological shortcomings, and pave the way for the forthcoming reorganization of the ruling Party organs.

In the Ukraine literature and the arts are said to be still behind the times, and the line has been set by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party through the much-quoted PRAVDA editorial of June 1951. Pointed reminders of the fate of the periodicals ZVEZDA and LENINGRAD which were suspended for assorted ideological aberrations six years ago are made with increasing frequency to "misbehaving" newspapers. RADIANSKA UKRAINA (14 August) draws attention to the almost forgotten "no-conflict theory" (teoriya bezkonfliktnosti) which, it says, "has caused serious damage" (zaydala seryoznoi shkody) to Ukrainian literature and particularly to stage production. Admitting some improvement in the field of art and literature, the editorial declares that there is no cause for optimism about the situation as it is today. Ukrainian writers, playwrights and poets are still "greatly indebted" (v bilshomu borgu) to the Soviet reader and theater-goer who allegedly demand truer ideology and greater art:

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Critics and men of letters have not created any serious works on the most important problems of socialist realism ... on the influence of Great Russian literature on the creative ability of Ukrainian writers.

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Ukrainian version:

Krytyky i literaturoznavtsi ne stvoryly seryoznykh prats, prysvyachennykh zaivazhlyvishym problemam sotsialistynogo realizmu ... vplyvu velykoi rosiyskoi literatury na tvorchist ukrainskykh pismennykiv.

The no-conflict theory theme, however, is not amplified beyond the poignant hint that it has not yet been discarded in literary criticism, and this branch of literature is therefore "most heavily indebted" (v naibilshomu borgu) to the reader.

The reluctance of the Ukrainian critics to criticize and the writers to write is discussed in a lengthy Kryzhanovskiy article carried in the same issue of the paper, but not broadcast. The notorious no-conflict theory, it is claimed, is apparently used to facilitate the avoidance of political and other controversial issues which naturally require thorough familiarity with the Party's decisions on such subjects. The literary critics are reminded that this tendency, long since condemned by the Central Committee of the Party, is as hostile to the cultural life of the people as any other ideological deviation. The suspension of the publication of ZVEZDA and LENINGRAD, it is pointed out, has once again

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emphasized that our periodicals, whether on science or on art, cannot be apolitical; that they are the mighty weapon of the Soviet State in the matter of educating the people and particularly the youth ... and therefore must be guided by the vital interests of the system, its politics.

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Ukrainian version:

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pidkreslyla, shcho nashi zhurnaly, naukovy chy khudozhni, ne mozhat buty apolitychnymy, shcho vony ye mogutnim zasobom Radyanskoi derzhavy u spravi vykhovannya radyanskikh ludey i osoblyvo molodi ... i tomu povynni keruvatysya tym, shcho stanovyt zhyttevu osnovu radyanskogo ladu - yogo politykoyu.

Kryzhanovskiy names the Shevchenko Institute of Ukrainian Literature as one of the greatest ideological sinners in the Republic: the classics published by that organization are said to still contain "serious shortcomings of a bourgeois-nationalist nature" (seriozny pomylky burzhuazno-natsionalistichnogo kharakteru). Similar deviations are imputed also to an unspecified number of individual literary critics who "do not desire to correct their errors" (ne bazhayut vypravlyaty svoi pomylky). Some well known Ukrainian writers and poets, it appears, prefer to refrain from their normal literary activities altogether rather than venture onto the dangerous path of political controversy. Such gifted writers as Kopylenko, Panch, Vladko, Shiyan and Kundzich are said to have been "conspicuously silent" for a long time.

There is still too much "liberalism" in the Soviet press, says PRAVDA editorially on 14 August. Favorable criticism of "worthless works" (negodnie proizvedenia) and "chummy relations" (priatel'skie otnoshenia) among critics and writers in general are said to come within the definition of that term. The Union of Soviet Writers is still lavish with its praises of mediocre and often downright faulty works which have no place on the pages of the Soviet press or books. Reference is made also for the first time to the existence of a "Commission for Criticism of the Writers Union" (komissia po kritike soyuza pisatel'ey) which, incidentally, "is still doing an extremely poor job" (do sikh por rabotayet krains slabo). The former publications ZVEZDA and LENINGRAD are again singled out as examples not to be emulated. The above-mentioned liberalism, the editorial continues, if left unchecked, is conducive to a dangerous attitude on the part of critics and writers whereby

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the interests of the people and the State are sacrificed to chummy relations and whereby writers ... lose their sense of responsibility to the people, the State and the Party

Russian version:

CPYRGHT

interesy naroda i gosudarstva prinosyatsya v zhertvu priatel'skim otnosheniam i pri kotorom pisateli ... utrachivayut soznanie svoey otvetstvennosti pered narodom, pered gosudarstvom, pered partiy

Klimushev, Secretary of the Ukrainian Party's Central Committee, discusses the ideological achievements of the intelligentsia (22 August, not broadcast), and regretfully admits that "a considerable part" (nzachna chastyna) of it has not yet been thoroughly imbued with the Marxist-Leninist theory. What is worse, "certain important groups of the intelligentsia have not yet been drawn into active socio-political life" (okremi znachni grupy intelligentsii shche ne zalucheny do aktyv-nogo gromadsko-politychnogo zhyttya). This is said to be particularly true of Dnepropetrovsk Oblast where such important sections of the intelligentsia as the Union of Architects and the Composers Union are left largely to their own resources without any ideological guidance from the appropriate party bodies. The latter have not even been able to "uncover" the manifestations of Ukrainian bourgeois-nationalism which are known to have taken place in the Ukrainian Language Department of the oblast State University.

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The Ukrainian theater and the drama are still lagging behind the "level set by the Party," according to a PRAVDA UKRAINY editorial broadcast on 26 August. The cultural demands of the people, both in regard to ideological content and artistic value of stage production, are still not being met. It is evident, the paper hints, that all previous official strictures about ideological perversions in art and literature as well as the exposure of the unideological features of the opera "Bogdan Khmelnytsky" have not been taken too seriously by some art workers; nor does Ukrainian playwrighting sufficiently reflect the great traditions and influence of Russian art, the art of the "most famous people of the multinational Soviet State," the Great Russian people.

Criticism of assorted ideological failings at the oblast and rayon levels familiarly echoes RADIANSKA UKRAINA's sentiments and is similarly concentrated on art and literature. Reiterating the official dictum that Soviet literature and art are "inseparable from the interests of the State and the people," BOLSHEVISTSKOYE ZNAMY (15 August) asserts that the so-called no-conflict theory until recently prevalent among the Odessa Oblast men of letters "brought considerable damage by directing the creative activities of playwrights along the wrong path." Without elaborating on that statement, the paper discloses that the Odessa Oblast and town Party Organizations as well as BOLSHEVISTSKOYE ZNAMYA and CHERNOMORSKA KOMUNA were recently rebuked by PRAVDA for lack of vigilance over the activities of the Oblast Philharmonic Society, which for some unexplained reason had not been toeing the ideological line. The editorial makes no reference to the sins of the oblast writers, but their shortcomings may be deduced from what the paper says they should do:

The first duty of the writer is to propagate the noble ideas of Soviet patriotism, friendship of the Soviet peoples, proletarian internationalism and to wage an implacable struggle against any manifestations of hostile bourgeois ideology.

A talk by Hostikov broadcast from Nikolayev on 14 August declares that although lecture work among the workers is progressing "strictly according to plan," the qualitative aspect of that propaganda is somewhat behind the popular demand. The workers, it is claimed, are not sufficiently enlightened on the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, on the one hand, and the American "gangster-like imperialism," on the other. Besides, the reluctance of the leading administrative workers to do any lecturing of their own and to shift the burden of propaganda to inferior agitators tends "to lower the ideological level" of political work among the masses.

Secretary Novikov of the Izmail Oblast Party Committee declares (in Russian, 13 August) that the oblast should serve as a typical example of the fraternal family of nations of the USSR. It is populated by Russians, Ukrainians, Bulgarians, Moldavians and Albanians and is "famous" for its rich kolkhozes, cultural and medical institutions. It is therefore of paramount importance, says the author, that the ideas of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism in this area be propagated "with particular thoroughness and importance." This, however, is not the case in Tatarbunary Rayon where lecturing on the friendship of nations is considerably below the required ideological level. In some of the rural districts there is admittedly much work yet to be done "to cultivate among the kolkhozniks a feeling of friendship toward other peoples, above all else toward the Great Russian people." Novikov asserts also that there are other "serious shortcomings" in the political work of that multinational oblast, as revealed at the current election-and-report meetings, but offers no further details.

Lecture propaganda is also the object of discussion in a broadcast from Stavropol of 14 August. The krai Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge is said to underestimate the cultural demands and intelligence of the population by simply refusing to lecture. The Society's Biology Section, for

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example, has delivered "only two lectures" this year while its Department of Natural Sciences is doing even less than that. The reports put the familiar "low level" label on the quality of the few lectures that have been delivered so far, and the odd reason given for this shortcoming is that the speakers show "a poor knowledge of the contents of lectures." The only other reference to ideological irregularities in the RSFSR is contained in a Kurtynin dispatch from Leningrad of 16 August (not broadcast). It has been revealed at the recently-held city rayon Party conferences that the Party organizations have been derelict in their supervision over the ideological activities of the local universities, particularly their departments of social and economic sciences. Even the Gorky Bolshoy Theatre is reported to have slipped out of the Party's control, and is showing grave deficiencies in the ideological education of art workers. All that could have been prevented, says Kurtynin, if the upper echelons of the city's Party had shown any interest in the work of the primary organizations including those of the universities and scientific research institutes.

Increased attention to ideological matters in the non-Russian Republics outside of the Ukraine is evidenced by available material from some of those areas. Although most of these reports predate the official announcement of the coming 19th Party Congress made on 20 August and contain no inkling of it, it is safe to assume that the renewed interest in the ideological life of the various Republics is in some way connected with the preparations for the important Soviet event. An unsigned dispatch from Ashkhabad carried by PRAVDA on 12 August (not broadcast) speaks of the sharp criticism directed at the Central Committee of the Turkmenian Communist Party at a recent Republican Party session. It was pointed out that the relaxation of Party control over the political and ideological qualifications of high Communist officials made it possible for a number of "questionable characters" to worm their way into positions of leadership. O. Abdalov, for example, until recently a leading official of the Central Committee and chief editor of the "Turkmengosizdat", has now been exposed as a "rapid bourgeois nationalist" (yariy burzhuaizniy natsionalist). The selection, training and distribution of Party cadres, particularly "ideological workers" (ideologicheskie rabotniki), still leave much to be desired according to the report. It is revealed also that over twelve thousand "specialists" are now engaged in the fields of literature, art and public health but the results of their endeavors so far have not been too encouraging. Foremost among the other ideological irregularities aired at the session is the disclosure that

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certain Party committees do not offer the necessary encouragement to criticism from below, and tacitly cooperate with the violators of Party and State discipline.

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Russian version:

... nekotorye partiynye komitety ne okazyvayut dolzhnoy podderzhki kritike, idushchey snizu, potvoryvayut narushitelyam partiynoy i gosudarstvennoy distsipliny.

A ZARYA VOSTOKA editorial broadcast from Tbilisi on 14 August says that Georgian literature "is not free of deficiencies and mistakes," a heritage left by the previous leadership of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party. That leadership, says the paper, cultivated an atmosphere of complacency and indulged in "unwarranted fanfare" (paradnaya shumikha) which put Georgian literary criticism on the "wrong path." The considerable successes achieved to date "do not give us the right" (ne dayut nam pravo) to whitewash the numerous shortcomings and mistakes still to be eliminated, the editorial continues. The newspaper LITERATURA DASELOGLEBA and the periodical (LNATOBE), it appears, have been straying from the ideological fold by permitting the publication of "articles devoid of ideological significance." (No explanation is offered, however, as to why the mentioned articles failed to meet the ideological requirements.)

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A report from Tashkent carried in PRAVDA on 15 August (not broadcast) shows what the "crude" selection of leading Communist personnel can do to the Party. The Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party had approved a certain Toktobayev as head of the Tashkent Oblast Party Committee without a proper investigation of his past. After a short period of time in his new post, this official is said to have "fouled up the rayon organizations with casual and criminal elements" (zasoril apparat rayonnykh organizatsiy sluchainymi i prestupnymi elementami). Similar "crude mistakes" (grubie oshibki) are reported to have been made by the Samarkand and Surkhan-Darya Oblast Party Committees which promoted "unworthy people" (nedostoyannyye ludy) to leading Party positions. The Central Committee, says the report, is still doing a very poor job "selecting and training propagandist cadres" (po podboru i vospitanii propagandistskikh kadrov). This body is criticized also, indirectly, in an attack on the Uzbek Ministry of Education whose insufficient enthusiasm for encouraging Russian language studies in the schools is evidenced by the continuing acute shortage of Russian language teachers in the Republic. The significance of the Russian language in Uzbek education, incidentally, is pointed out by Kurbanov of the Kashka Darya Oblast Party Committee who admitted among other things that

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many graduates of the oblast middle schools were unable to enter higher institutions of learning because of their inadequate knowledge of the Russian language.

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Russian version:

mnogie vypuskniki srednikh shkol oblasti ne mogli postupit v vysokie uchebnye zavedeniya iz-za plokhogo znanija russkogo yazyka.

A report from Petrozavodsk (19 August, not broadcast) says that the recent plenary session of the Central Committee of the Karelo-Finnish SSR found certain aspects of the Committee's ideological activities to be unsatisfactory. It was revealed at the session that the Central Committee has shown no inclination to raise the admittedly low level of ideological training of Party personnel, and has failed to staff the "ideological institutions" (ideologicheskie uchrezhdeniya) with highly qualified workers. Committee Secretary Tsvetkov is blamed for his intolerance of any criticism coming from the lower Party organizations, which on several occasions tried to call his attention to the existing ideological failings within the Party. State and Party discipline among high Communist officials is said to be lax while the Central Committee, being aware of the fact, has not done anything to correct the situation.

A MOLDOVA SOCIALISTA editorial (30 August) hints darkly at the unfavorable findings of the recent plenary session of the Moldavian Communist Party, but furnishes no details beyond the remark that the "shortcomings in the ideological work" in the Moldavian Republic must be eliminated.

PARTY ACTIVITIES

Party personnel problems still claim a great deal of attention in view of the contention that careless screening, selection and distribution of Communist workers are the source of most intraparty evils. High handed administration (administrativnaya), nepotism and "chummy relations" (priatel'skie otnosheniya) among officials are branded as violations of Party and State discipline, and in some cases as tantamount to antiparty activities. The long struggle against fear and suppression of criticism, particularly criticism "from below" (snizu), continues unabated. The practice of Communist officials and organizations of supplanting economic management, always frowned upon by the Party, has admittedly not been entirely abolished.

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He who is afraid to admit his own shortcomings and resents criticism from others, says RADIANSKA UKRAINA editorially on 13 August, merely facilitates the repetition of new and possibly greater shortcomings which may lead to the collapse of the entire cadre-training system. Taken in context, this statement refers to dereliction of duty by Communist officials on the oblast level who bear final responsibility for the appointments of key Party officials to rayon, town and lower organizations. In the Putilsky Rayon Party Committee, Chernovets Oblast, for example, the local officials "adopted the practice of indiscriminate praising" (staly na shlyakh zakhvalivannya) of their subordinates regardless of their admitted shortcomings and violations of Party and State discipline. Some of the officials have in fact gone to extremes in their endeavor to "protect" themselves and their cronies from unfavorable criticism. They

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forbade the rayon newspaper to publish materials exposing the violators of the agricultural artel statute and Soviet laws and the embezzlers of State property.

Ukrainian version:

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zaboronyaly vnaishchuvaty na storinkakh rayonnoi gazety materialy, shcho vykryvaly porushnykiv Statutu silskogospodarskoy artili i radyanskikh zakonov, rozkradachiv derzhavnoy vlasnosti.

Similar extreme cases of Party discipline violation, says the paper, have been noted also in some rayons of Zaporozhye and Ternopol Oblasts, but the tendency to keep and protect the obviously unsuitable officials in their present position to the detriment of Party and State interests is by no means confined to the above-named areas.

In a PRAVDA article published on 13 August (not broadcast), Pishenina attributes the poor performance of the Ministry of the Lumber Industry to the selection of the wrong personnel by the Ministry's Party organization. More than 40 percent of the available engineering and technical staff have no college or middle school education, and a number of key positions in the Ministry have remained unfilled for some time now, the author declares. Far from doing its share in the matter of removing "the loafers and bureaucrats" (bezdelniki i birokraty) from the Ministry's personnel, the Party organization is said to have connived with certain officials to introduce a number of obviously undesirable workers:

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Acting in connivance with the Party Committee and Party organizations, certain Communists recommended the employment of people who had not been sufficiently investigated and whose qualifications were known to be inadequate.

Russian version:

CPYRGHT

Nekotorye kommunisty pri popustitelstve partkoma i partiynykh organizatsiy rekomendovali na rabotu nedostatochno proverennyy i zavedomo neprigodnykh po svoey delovoy kvalifikatsii ludey.

These shady machinations, it is intimated, are greatly facilitated by suppressing any criticism from the rank and file Communists, which in turn creates an apathetic attitude toward work in general. Cited as proof of this is the recent meeting of the Ministry's Communist staff called to discuss current affairs. Of the 430 members present only 10 summoned sufficient courage to participate in the discussions: "The meeting was a patent farce, and criticism of shortcomings was reduced to naught" (Sobranie yavno bylo skonkano, a kritika nedostatkov svernuta).

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A short item broadcast from Odessa on 13 August quotes CHERNOMORSKA KOMUNA as "subjecting to severe criticism" a number of unspecified Party organs which "violate the principles" of selection, distribution and education of personnel. The problem of Communist and other personnel in Kirovograd Oblast is treated too lightly and "shortcomings of a serious nature" still occur, according to a KIROVOGRADSKA PRAVDA editorial of 16 August. Reiterating the familiar complaint that important Party posts are held by "chance persons" (sluchainie ludi), the paper asserts that there can be no question of improving the organizational work of the Party apparatus before these "unworthy elements" are weeded out. High handed Communist administrators, like those of the Kirovograd town Party for example, not only fail to consider the opinions of other Party members, they do not even bother to consult technical experts when dealing with problems of industrial production. Kmelevskiy, Rovnianskiy and an unspecified number of other rayon Party Committees are thus accused of "behavior unworthy of Communists anywhere."

The supplanting of economic management by Party Committees, which theoretically are called upon to guide, but not to interfere with the operations of non-Communist organizations, is the object of virulent criticism by PRAVDA of 12 August. Declaring that economic and political work are "indivisible" (narazdelimy), the editorial nevertheless draws a line between the two and suggests that Party organizations confine their "guiding and enlightening activities" within the prescribed limits and refrain from assuming other people's functions. A glaring example of such Communist encroachment upon the duties of others is cited in the case of the Nesterov Rayon (Kaliningrad Oblast) Party Committee, which took it upon itself to "allocate coal to kolkhoz smithies, fodder to livestock farms and so on" (raspredeline uglya dlya kolkhoznykh kuznits, kombinirovannykh kormov dlya zhiivotnovodcheskikh ferm i t.p.). This practice of "supplanting" (podmena) industrial and agricultural management is also said to have been observed in some rayons of Krasnoyarsk Krai and other unnamed places. The editorial reveals also that in parts of Belorussia and Kaluga and Velikie Luki Oblasts the Party organizations frequently disregard the established chain of Party command, by sending representatives to "take over" the affairs of collective farms instead of helping the latter manage their own affairs "through the medium" of the primary Party organizations.

PRAVDA and RADIANSKA UKRAINA, referring to the revised Party statute as announced on 20 August, remind their readers that democratic centralism is still one of the basic tenets of the Communist bible. Thus PRAVDE (23 August) presents a long list of chronic Party ailments which in its opinion demand immediate attention in view of the approaching 19th Party Congress. An intimation that continued suppression of criticism from below will not be tolerated much longer is contained in the following statement:

The suppression of criticism is a grave evil. He who suppresses criticism, replacing it by fanfare and loud praises, has no place in the ranks of the Party.

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Russian version:

Zazhim kritiki yavlyaetsya tyazhkim zlom. Tot, kto glushit kritiku, podmenyaet eyo paradnostyu i voskhvaleniem, ne mozhет nakhoditsya v ryadakh partii.

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Pursuing the theme, the editorial says that the only way to insure the proper guidance of the masses is to have the Party organized on strictly "centralist" lines, as outlined in the revised statute, so that the minority is subordinated to the majority and the decisions of higher Party instances are binding on the lower ones. But such conditions, the paper hints, have not always been observed within the Party hierarchy and intraparty democracy has often been reduced to a theoretical conception. The revised Party statute is designed to do away with the abuse of power on the part of Communist officials which has minimized the efficacy of intraparty democracy:

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... the draft statute outlines the conditions that will guarantee the Party against abuses of intraparty democracy on the part of antiparty elements; conditions under which intraparty democracy will benefit the cause and will not be used to harm the Party and the working class.

Russian version:

CPYRGHT

...v proekte ukazyvayutsya uslovia, kotorye mogut garantirovat partiu ot zloupotrebleniy vnutri-partiynoy demokratiy so storony antipartiynykh elementov, uslovia, pri kotorykh vnutripartiynaya demokratiya poidet na polzu delu i ne budet ispolzovana vo vred partii i rabochemu klassu.

RADYANSKA UKRAINA (29 August) is even more outspoken on Party evils than the above-quoted PRAVDA editorial. Discussing the benefits of the revised Party statute and their effect on the actual and potential Communist sinners, the paper makes the unusual admission that the divulgence of State secrets is one of the misdemeanors under consideration:

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Extensive evidence is available that some Communists are hiding the truth from the Party, divulging Party and State secrets; there are cases of political carelessness and sloth ... each of these vices is a great evil which brings harm to the Party and hinders our forward movement.

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Ukrainian version:

Sered chastynyh komunistiv nabuly poshirennya fakty prykhovuvannya pravdy vid partii, rozgoloshennya partiynoy i derzhavnoy taemnytsi, mayut mistse proyavy politychnoy bezturbotnosti i rotozlystva ... Koshen z tsykh porokiv ye velykym zlom, sheho zavdaye shkody partii, galmuye nash rukh vpered.

Nor is the cause of intraparty democracy served much by the prevailing misunderstanding of Party discipline, according to the paper. Certain Communists erroneously believe in the existence of two degrees of Party discipline: "One for the rank and file members and another one for the leaders" (odna dlya ryadovykh chleniv, insha--dlya kerivnykiv). This, too, is termed "a great evil" (velyke zlo), and the intimation is that it will be remedied under the new Party statute.

Following are extracts from some of the numerous items on Communist failings aired at Party conferences at the town and rayon committee level:

16 August--Thus during the fifth Rayon Party conference in Ovideopol ... the Communists criticized the Rayon Party Committee for allowing shortcomings in the leadership of primary Party organizations in kolkhozes, sovkhoezes and machine-tractor stations.... (CHERNOMORSKA KOMUNA).

17 August--The secretary of the Kursk town Party Committee ... also noted serious shortcomings in the activities of the town and Rayon Party Committees and the primary organizations of Kursk town.

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17 August--The plenary session of the Adzhar Oblast Party Committee of the Georgian Communist Party ... relieved comrade Midzheradze from his post as second secretary of the Adzhar Oblast Party Committee because of his inability to cope with his work, and expelled him from the Party Bureau. (Tbilisi in Russian)

25 August--...the conference exposed serious shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the Tashkent town Party Committee. It demanded that all Party leaders establish the necessary conditions for the wide development of sharp Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism. (Tashkent in Russian)

25 August--The speakers and those taking part in the Stalino town Party conference noted several shortcomings in the work of the Stalino town Communist Party organization (no details given).

29 August--It is noted that at a number of conferences and accounting-election Party meetings rayon and town Party Committees and many primary Party organizations have not yet learned how to combine political with economic work. They have belittled the importance of political work for the purpose of gaining economic successes. (KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA)

27 August--Certain Communist leaders may still be found, however, whose attitude toward the principle of criticism is inadmissible. They see in it a danger to their authority, and try to discredit those who criticize them. (STAVROPOLSKAYA PRAVDA)

30 August--The editorial also notes the lack of high level criticism and self-criticism. This is particularly the case with the Kostroma, Susaninskiy and Ponazyrevskiy Rayon Party conferences (SEVERNAYA PRAVDA).

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